

Excerpts from the text of an address prepared for delivery by The Right Honorable Winston Churchill, M.P., at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, Tuesday, March 5, 1946

"I now come to the second danger which threatens the cottage home and ordinary people, namely Tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the United States and the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States, control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments, to a degree which is overwhelming and contrary to every principle of democracy. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries whom we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, Trial by Jury and the English Common Law, find their most famous expression in the Declaration of Independence.

"A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied Victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist International organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits if any to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is sympathy and goodwill in Britain - and I doubt not here also - towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her Western frontiers from all renewal of German aggression. We welcome her to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. Above all we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control.

Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew Westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles on a front of nearly 400 miles to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had conquered. If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts - and facts they are - this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

"In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States, where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy, and we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

"The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further eighteen months from when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further eighteen months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well-informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

"I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a Minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now.

In those days, there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel the same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at this time.

"On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have an occasion to do so, I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here to-day while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by more waiting to see what happens; nor will they be relieved by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become. From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away, then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

"Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today, but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again.

辯護文書第一六六九號

一九四六年昭和二十一年三月五日火曜日、ミスリー洲
フルトンウエストミンスター大學ニ於ケル議員ウインス
トンチャーゲル演說草稿拔萃

私ハサテ、曼家及一般市民ヲ脅ス第二ノ危険即厭致ニツイテ述ベマセウ
吾々米合衆國及英帝國全土ニ亘ツテ國民各個人ニ附與サレテキル自由ガ
大強國も含ム多數ノ國家ニ於テ確立シテキナイト云フ事實ニ盲目デア
ルトハ出來マセン。此等ノ國家ニ於テハ厭倒的ニ且ツ民主主義ノ凡ル原
理ニ相反スル程度迄各種各様ノ總括的ナ警察政權ニヨツテ統整ガ一般民
衆ノ上ニ強行サレテキルノデアリマス。國家權力ハ特權的政黨トカ政治
警察ヲ通ジテ獨裁者カ、羣國ナ小數者ノ群カニヨツテ無制限ニ行使サ
レキルノデアリマス。困難ノ多イ現在ニ於テ吾々が戦争デ征服シタノデ
モナイ國家ノ内政ニ強引ニ關涉スルコトハ吾々ノ義務デハアリマセン。
然シ、吾々ハ斷呼トシテ人間ノ自由ト權利ノ大原則ヲ主張スルコトヲ止
メテハナリマセン。ソレハ英語ヲ話ス國民ノ共同遺産デアリ又、大憲章、
人權條令、人身解放令、陪審裁判及英國不文法ヲ經テ獨立宣言ノ中ニソノ

最モ有名ナ宣言ヲ見タトコロノモノデアリマス。

聯合國ノ勝利ニヨツテ光明ヲ點ゼラレタ許リノ地上ニ暗影ガ落チカカリマシタ。ソビエトロシヤトソノ共產黨國際組織ガ何ヲタ克蘭デキルカ？ 又ソノ廣範且宣傳的ナ傾向ニ若シ限界アリトセバ奈邊カ？ ハ何人ニモ不明デアリマス。私ハ勇敢ナロシヤ國民及私ノ戰友スターリン元帥ニ對シテハ強イ讚賞ト敬意ヲ抱イテ居リマス。英國ニ於テハ——恐ク此處ニ於テモ左様ト私ハ思ヒマスガ——全露國國民ニ對シテ同情ト好意ガアリ又永續的ナ友好關係樹立ノタメニ多大ノ不一致不和ヲ耐ヘ忍バウトスル決意ガアリマス。ソノ西部國境ニ於テ凡ルドイツノ侵略ノ繰返シヲ防グ、ロシヤノ必要性ヲ吾々ハ理解シテ居リマス。吾々ハ世界ノ指導的國家ノ間ノソノ正當ナル地位ニロシアヲ喜ンデ迎ヘルモノデアリマス。就中吾々ハ大西洋ノ兩側ニ於テ兩國民ノ不斷ノ屢類ナ接觸ヲ歡迎シマス。然シ乍ラヨーロッパニ於ケル現在ノ狀勢ニツイテ若干ノ事實ヲ諸兄ニ語ルコトハ私ノ義務デアリマス。バルチック海ノステツテインカラアドリア海ノトリエストニ到ル迄大陸ヲ横斷シテ一ツノ鐵ノ幕ガ降ロサレタノデアリマス。ソノ線ノ背后ニ中央及東部ヨーロ

ツバノ古イ國々ノ凡ル首都ガアリマス。

ワルソーベルリン、ブラーグ、ウインナ、ブタベスト、ベルグラード、ブカレスト、ソフィア、凡テノ此等ノ有名ナ都市及住民ハソビエト圈内ニアリ。何レモ何等カノ形ニ於テ、ソビエトノ勢力下ニアルノミナラズ、モスコイカラノ非常ニ高度ナ且増大シツツアル統制ニ服シテキルノデアリマスアテナノミガソノ不死ノ榮光ト共ニ英國、米國、佛國ノ監督下ニ選舉ヲ行ツテ自由ニソノ將來ヲ決定出來ルノデアリマス。

ロシアノ支配下ニアルポーランド政府ハ大仕掛ナ誤ツタドイツ侵略ヲ獎勵サレテ居リ、悲慘ナ想像モツカス數百萬ドイツ人ノ追放ガ現在行ハレテキルノデアリマス。ヨロツバノ總テノ此等東部國家ニ於テ非常ニ小數デアツタ、共產黨ハソノ數ヲ遙カニ凌駕シタ、優位置及權力ニ引キ上ゲラレ何處ニ於テモ全體主義的統制ヲ獲得センコトヲ狙ツテキルノデアリマス。

憲法文書第

第

警察政府は殆んど凡ゆる場合に行き返つて居り、今日迄のところデニ
 コスロヴァキアの外には眞の民主主義はない。トルコ及ベルシヤは天
 に在スコイ政府に依る要求や暴迫に對して極度に忍性を失ひし混亂に陥
 つてゐる。在ベルリンのロシア人は行進人の左翼指導者連中に特別の
 恩恵を示すことに依りソコ占領地一の獨逸に準共産黨を作り上げ、全
 國しつゝある。昨年六月獨逸政府に米英軍はそれまでの協定に基き、獨
 逸國境近くの鐵線に至り若干の箇所では一五〇哩も西方へ撤收し、西方
 民主主義が征服せる此の非常に廣大な領域をロシア人の占領に委ねたの
 である。今ソコ政府が獨逸の行動に依り彼等の占領地二内に準共産黨地
 帯を打ち立てんと試みるならば、これは英米地境内に重大な難局を惹起し、
 獨逸國境にソヴィエツトと西方民主主義國との間にあつてどちらに自
 己を向く更付けるかと思ふ力を失へることとなる。これ等の事から如何
 なる結果が引出されるかと

をしてこれ等は事實であるが

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[illegible]

氏の親友であつた。私自身は実行された多くの事件に同感しなかつたが、當時の情勢については非常に深い印象を受けて居り現在の情勢と對照して私の心を癒めるものがある。

その頃人々は戦争がすつかり終り、國際連盟は絶對的な力を持つに至るであらうといふ非常な期待と無限の確信を持つてゐた、私は現在この荒廢した世界の中に右と同じやうな確信、又は單なる期待さへを見たり感したりすることはないのである

「その坐面、私は新しい戦争が必ずおこるといふ考へには反對する、ましてその戦争は近いうちにあるだらうといふ考へには一層強く反對する、何故ならば、私は、私達の運命は私達の手中にあり私達が將來ヲ救ふかを握つてゐるのだと確信するからである。私はこゝに機會を與へられたので、私は「ソ連」が戦争をしたがつてゐるとは思はぬと云ふことを断言する義務があるよゝに感じる。彼等の望んでゐるものは此の度の戦争の利得であり彼等の力と主權の無限の擴大である。私達が今日この席上で適當つて考へねばならぬことは戦争の永久的防止とすべし、國に出來だけ早く自由と民主主義の状態を建設することである、私達が目を閉しても困難や危殆は去らない。

困難や危機はただ何が起こるかじつと見て待つてゐるのみでは除かれない。又單なる緩和政策によつても除去され又、必要なものは解決でありそれが遅れれば遅れる程困難になり危機は大きくなるであらう。戦争中ロシア人其の他の同盟の人々から私の事んだところにより、彼等が「力」以上感服するものはなく又軍隊の弱小なる點を憂するものはないといふことが私には明白に分つた。故に昔の「勢力均衡主義は不合理である。私達はもし遅けられるならば差の殆んどない土臺の上で眞剣に努力する計には行かぬ。これ常に各段に力試しの誘惑を提供するのである。もし西洋の民主々義論家が一致して國際連合軍の諸原則を嚴守するならば、それら民主々義論家ハ憲章の主眼助長のために莫大な貢物をなし誰にも邪魔されることはないであらう。けれども我等が仲間割れをしたりその任務を行ふに當り逡巡したりすることがあれば又もしこの最も重要な数年の好機を逃したりすれば、それこそ我々にとつて大きな災難となるであらう。

この前私が斯くの如き狀勢の來ることを豫見し、我が國人と世界に對して呼びかけた時誰も私の聲を聞く者になかつた。一九三三年か又は一九三五年頃迄さへ獨逸が陥つた恐るべき運命から救はれ得る可能性があつたのであり、さうすれば私達は「ヒットラー」が人類の上にもたらしたこの不幸から免がれ得たであらう。地球のこれ程の廣い地域を荒廢せしめた今次の大戦程時を得た行動によつて容易に防ぐことが出來た戦争は歴史上曾てないのである。この戦争は一發も發砲せずして防止出來たのであらう。獨逸は今日強力な繁榮した名譽ある國家であり得たであらう。しかし誰も耳を傾けなかつた。そして私達は順々にすべてが恐ろしい渦巻の中に卷込まれてしまつたのである。私達は決してこの事を再發せしめてはならない。